CLASSICAL STUDIES

IN HONOUR OF

Henry Drisler

New York
MACMILLAN AND CO.
AND LONDON
1894

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References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature.

The recent discussions in regard to the connections of Zoroastrianism with the Bible and the age of the founder of that religious body, have brought prominently to the foreground the extra-Iranian traditions coupled with his name. It is not my purpose here to touch upon those which are to be found in classical writings, for these are easily accessible even to the specialist in Iranian history. But the Syriac and Arabic traditions, whatever value they may possess, are hidden away in books which seldom come to the notice of any but students of these particular literatures. Few of these texts have been translated into a modern language, and even where some of the passages to which I refer have been extracted by such scholars as Spiegel, Windischmann, Kuhn, etc., the work has necessarily been imperfect and insufficient. It may be also of some worth to have all the references collected in one place, so that those who use them may know where to find all the traditions which touch on this subject. Nöldeke has recently pointed out\(^1\) the necessity of a complete presentation of the Arabic traditions on early Persian history. In putting together the following notices, I wish to be understood as only delivering a few stones for a building which others are to put up. I know nothing of Iranian save what one can know by the help of translations; and I must leave it to others to test the real value of these Oriental traditions. Nor would I claim that I have found all the references. I have had to rely upon my own collection of Arabic books, which is, naturally enough, limited. Even then I may have overlooked some trifles; I trust not more than trifles. For this I claim the indulgence of scholars.

Syriac literature, being largely ecclesiastical and exegetical, there was really only one occasion in connection with which Zoroaster might be mentioned, the adoration of the Magi (Matthew ii. 1 sq.).

All the references which occur in this literature go back to the

\(^1\) *Persische Studien*, ii. Wien, 1892, p. 27.
commentators of this passage. It is true that the Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite (according to W. Wright, 506 A.D.), which has been preserved in the work of a later historian, Dionysius of Tell-Mahre (died 845 A.D.), mentions in Chap. 20 that Kawad "re-established the abominable sect (alpha-omega) of the Magi, which is called that of the Zachadushtakan, which teaches that women should be in common, and that every one should have connection with whom he pleases." Nöldeke, however, has shown that this refers to the sect (with socialistic ideas) founded by one Mazdak, who is also said to have been the son of Zoroaster. His name, Zaradusht, son of Horagán, is evidence that we have here to deal with a later personage bearing the same name as the old Iranian prophet.

In a book called The Cave of Treasures, which belongs to that cycle of literary productions which the early Church brought out in opposition to the Synagogue, and which was current in the Asian and African Churches, in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic, we should naturally look to find traditions connected with the coming of the three Magi. The work contains a short account of the biblical history from the first Adam to the "last Adam," intermingled with all manner of Haggadic material, which was current in the Judæo-Christian circles in which it took its rise. On p. 230 of the text (= trans. p. 56 sq.) we have the account of the Magi; which, though it contains no references that concern us directly, will be discussed later. But in the early part of the work (p. 136 sq.) in the account of the fabulous Nimrod, I find a tradition which relates to the first establishment of fire worship in Persia, and which, for that reason, is worth while quoting: "In the days of Namrud (Nimrod) the mighty man, there appeared a fire which ascended from the earth. Namrud went down, looked at it, and worshipped it. He appointed priests to do service there and to throw frankincense into it (fire). At that time the Persians commenced to worship fire, [and continued to do so] up to this day. Sisan, the king, found a spring of water in Adhrabajän. He made a white horse and placed it near by. Those who were accustomed to bathe there

1 See Wright’s edition, Cambridge, 1882, p. ix.
2 Geschichte der Perser und Araber, Leyden, 1879, pp. 455 sq.
3 Lagarde, Mittheilungen, iii. p. 75.
4 Ed. by Karl Bezold, Die Schatzkohle, Leipzig, 1883-88.
5 This name is found only in one MS. (A). One Arabic MS. has Säš; the others, Sisön. See Bezold, p. 78, note.
6 Atropatene. The text has Derōgin; but, with the help of the Arabic, there can be no doubt as to the correct reading. See, also, Lagarde, Mittheilungen, iii. p. 63.
worshipped that horse.\(^1\) Now Namrud went to Yukdura, in Nod, and when he came to the sea Aţras,\(^2\) he found there Yonţon, the son of Noah. He descended and bathed in that sea, and then went and worshipped Yonţon. Yonţon said, ‘Thou who art a king worshippeth me?’ Namrud answered, ‘For thy sake have I come down here.’ So he remained with him for three years. And Yonţon taught Namrud wisdom, and (gave him?) a book of visions, saying, ‘Do not come any more to me.’ Now when he had come up from the East, and had commenced to make use of this (book of) visions, many were astonished at him. Êdsher,\(^3\) the priest who was in attendance at the fire which had come out from the ground, seeing Namrud busied with these ancient arts, besought the spirit (Deva), which was accustomed to appear near that fire, to teach him the wisdom of Namrud. Now, as is the custom for such Devas to destroy those who draw near to them in sin, that Deva said to the priest that it was impossible for a man to become priest or Magus unless he had previously had connection with his mother, his daughter, and his sister. The priest did as the Deva had bidden him. And from that time the priests and Magians and Persians commenced to take their mothers, and sisters, and daughters.\(^4\) This priest, Êdsher, was the first to occupy himself with the signs of the Zodiac, and destinies, lots, coincidences, quiverings, and other things belonging to the science of the Chaldæans (witchcraft?).

“This Namrud built strong cities in the East, Babylon, Niniveh, Resin, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, and Adhrabijân. He constructed (also) strongholds there.’’\(^5\)

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1 Lagarde, *loc. cit.*, refers to Kazwini’s *Cosmography*, p. 189, 12 (= Ethé’s translation, p. 386).
3 I suppose this refers simply to consanguineous marriages, which, I believe, were not foreign to the Persians. Köhler has found traces of this in the Apocrypha (Jubilees, Adam and Eve, Tobit). See *Jewish Quart. Rev.* v. pp. 406 sq.
4 For the Ethiopic version, which is substantially the same, see Malan, *The Book of Adam and Eve*, London, 1882, p. 177. The identification of Zoroaster with Nimrod is also found in the *Cl-
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I have given this passage at length because of the mention of the fire which came out of the ground, a tradition which we shall meet again in the Arabic legends. The spring of water in Adhrabijân will also occur later.

It is worth mentioning that the well of water already occurs in the interesting "Oration of Meliton the Philosopher; who was in the presence of Antoninus Cæsar, and bade the same Cæsar know God, etc.," as published by Cureton, Spicilegium Syriacum; London, 1855, p. 25, 14. I give Cureton’s translation (p. 44): "But touching Nebo, which is in Mabug, why should I write to you; for, lo! all the priests which are in Mabug know that it is the image of Orpheus, a Thracian Magus. And Hadran is the image of Zaradusht, a Persian Magus, because both of these Magi practised Magism to a well which is in a wood in Mabug, in which was an unclean spirit, and it committed violence and attacked the passage of every one who was passing by in all that place in which now the fortress of Mabug is located; and these same Magi charged Simi, the daughter of Hadad, that she should draw water from the sea, and cast it into the well, in order that the spirit should not come up and commit injury, according to that which was a mystery in their Magism."

The next citations occur in the Syro-Arabic Lexica of Bar ‘Alî and Bar Bahlûl. Bar ‘Alî, about 832 A.D. (of whose work I have an edition in preparation), says that Zardosht means “golden kingdom.” He adds, "Zardosht composed his filthy teaching in seven languages." In another place (s.v. Balaam) he adds, "Balaam is Zardosht, the diviner of the Magians." The connection between Zaradosht and Balaam was near at hand in Numbers xxiv. 17, "a star shall come forth from Jacob." It was generally conceded by such teachers as Origen, Basil, Chrysostom, Eusebius, Nicephorus, Callixtus, etc. A small tract "On the Star" is extant in Syriac, and is attributed to Eusebius. Its tendency is "to show that Balaam’s prophecy travelled eastward from Moab, and was handed down by Persian kings until the days of Augustus Cæsar,


2 Payne-Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus, col. 1155; cf. col. 589. The Samaritan Book of Joshua, translated by O. T. Crane, New York, 1890, p. 102, speaks of "the books of Bila‘ām."
when the star did actually appear.”¹ Hasan Bar Bahlūl (about 963 A.D.) has a fuller account. In the edition of Duval,² s.v. Zardosht, we read: “Zardosht; [the word occurs] in the book Paradise [of Palladius?].”³ This is explained to mean royal gold, i.e. zar’-gold, ‘washt’ [or] ‘basht’-kingship.⁴ . . . This Zardsht brought forward the babblings of the Magians. As is customary with names used in other languages we do not pronounce Zardosht as do the Persians, but Zrahdesht(?),⁵ just as we do not pronounce Mishe⁶ (Moses), as do the Hebrews, but Mushē; for so it is proper in Syriac script.”

Bar Bahlūl also, s.v. Kāsōmā (divinator), Payne-Smith, col. 3704, says: “Divinator, like Zardosht, whom people say is Baruch the Scribe; and because prophecy was not accorded him he went astray, journeyed to [other] nations and learned twelve tongues. It is written in a book that when Zardosht was seated by a spring of water—a bathing-place of the king—he said to his disciples: ‘in the latter days a maiden, a daughter of the Hebrews, will have a son in the flesh, but without connection, who shall have a godly nature. At his birth a star will appear. Go ye! bring him three offerings, gold, myrrh, and frankincense.’ Then he conversed about his passion and his resurrection.” The reason for identifying Baruch with Zoroaster is not apparent, yet it was quite current, as we shall see, in church circles. Finally, s.v. Abhastāg,⁷ Bar Bahlūl says, “Abhastaga, in one copy, is the name of the book of Zoroaster which he composed in seven tongues, Syrian, Persian, Aramaean, Segistanian, Marozian, Greek, and Hebrew.” The names are of interest here, and will occupy us again in speaking of the Arabic Fihrist.

At about the same time lived Ishōdad of Hadatha (about 852 A.D.). In his commentary on the New Testament,⁸ which only exists in MS., he has the following note to Matthew ii. 1: “It has been asked whence did the Magi receive [information] that when a [certain] star should appear, the King of Kings was born, and that it was proper

¹ Malan, The Book of Adam and Eve, p. 252.
² Lexicon Syriacum, Parisiis, 1888, etc., col. 699.
³ Duval, p. iv.; Lagarde, Symmicta, i. p. 83.
⁵ The pronunciation is uncertain, as the vowels are not given.
⁶ So the MSS. What pronunciation does this represent? Is it the Greek Μωσής, which has been found in the Hebrew וֹתֶשׁ? Grätz, Gesch. der Juden, iv., note 19; Allgem. Zeit. des Judenth., 1893, No. 50 sq.
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to bring him triple offerings. Some say from Daniel. For certain
men came from Shebha to Babel to the palace, at the time when
Nebuchadnezzar was ruling, to bring offerings to the king, and to
learn Chaldaism (i.e. Chaldean magic). Daniel told them that when
the Messiah will be born, it will be proper for the kings of Shebha
and Sebha to bring him offerings. They wrote [this] down in their
βιβλιοθήκη, i.e. archives, and in their υπομνήματα, i.e. book of chroni-
cles. Others say they received word from Bel'am. The truth of
the matter is, that it had been predicted by Zaradosht, the head
of their sect, either because he was constrained by divine power, as
Bel'am and Kayyafa (Caiafas), or because he was of the people of
Israel and a student of the Scriptures.

"Some say that he (Zoroaster) is the same as Baruch, the pupil
of Eramya (Jeremiah), and [that], because the gift of prophecy was
denied him as [had been] his wish, and, because of that bitter exile
and the sack of Jerusalem and the Temple, he became offended (or
angry) and went away among other nations, learned twelve languages
and in them wrote that vomit of Satan, i.e. their book which is called
Abhasta. Therein is written: As Zaradosht was sitting by a well
of water, where had been constructed a bathing place for former
kings, he opened his mouth and said to his disciples, 'Hear, O my
beloved, and ye children whom I have trained in my teaching. In
the latter days a virgin, a daughter of the Hebrews, will be with
child and will give birth, without cohabiting, to a boy in whom the
divine nature dwells. He will perform wonderful deeds and miracles.
At his birth a star will appear to you. Go, bring him offerings, gold,
and myrrh, and frankincense. For he is the King of Kings.'"

We find the same story, almost word for word, in the "Book of
the Bee," an epitome of the world's history made by Solomon of
Hilät (born about 1222 A.D.)

"This Zaradosht is Baruch the scribe. When he was sitting by
the fountain of water called Glōshā of Hōrin, where the royal bath
had been erected, he said to his disciples, the king Gushānspē
and Sāsān and Mahīmad, 'Hear, my beloved children, for I will

1 Is there any real tradition in this—
in the line of Darmstetter's arguments
in favour of a Jewish influence on Zo-
rostrianism? Or is this on a par with
similar assumptions that Plato and
Aristotle were students of the Thorah
(Law)? Cf. Herzog-Pliit, Encycl. 1.
p. 281; Revue des Et. Juives, xxiv.
122; Frankel, Monatschrift, 1860, p.
99.
2 Anecdota Oxoniensia: The Book
of the Bee, ed. by E. A. Wallis Budge,
Oxford, 1886, pp. 81 sq. The passage
has been treated of by Ernst Kuhn,
Eine Zoroastrische Prophezeihung in
Christlichen Gewande.
reveal to you a mystery concerning the great King who is about to rise upon the world. At the end of time, and at the final dissolution, a child shall be conceived in the womb of a virgin, and shall be formed in her members, without any man approaching her. And he shall be like a tree with beautiful foliage and laden with fruit, standing in a parched land; and the inhabitants of that land shall be gathered together to uproot it from the earth, but shall not be able. Then they will take him and crucify him upon a tree, and heaven and earth shall sit in mourning for his sake; and all the families of the nations shall be in grief for him. He will begin to go down to the depths of the earth, and from the depth he will be exalted to the height; then he will come with the armies of light and be borne aloft upon white clouds; for he is a child conceived by the Word which establishes natures.' Gushansaph says to him, ‘Whence has this one, of whom thou sayest these things, his power? Is he greater than thou, or art thou greater than he?’ Zacaddost says to him, ‘He shall descend from my family; I am he, and he is I; he is in me, and I am in him. When the beginning of his coming appears, mighty signs will be seen in heaven, and his light shall surpass that of the sun. But ye, sons of the seed of life, who have come forth from the treasuries of life and light and spirit, and have been sown in the land of fire and water, for you it is meet to watch and take heed to these things which I have spoken to you, that ye await his coming; for you will be the first to perceive the coming of that great king, whom the prisoners await to be set free. Now, my sons, guard this secret which I have revealed to you, and let it be kept in the treasure-houses of your souls. And when that star rises of which I have spoken, let ambassadors bearing offerings be sent by you, and let them offer worship to him. Watch, and take heed, and despise him not, that he destroy you not with the sword; for he is the king of kings, and all kings receive their crowns from him. He and I are one.’ These are the things which were spoken by this second Balaam, and God, according to His custom, compelled him to interpret these things; or he sprang from a people who were acquainted with the prophecies concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, and declared them aforetime.”

Whatever the origin of the identification of Zoroaster with Baruch

1 We have here merely a comparison with Balaam. In other writers this becomes an identification.  
2 The scribe of Jeremiah. De Sacy (Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibl. du Roi, ii. p. 319) tries to explain the connection of Jeremiah with Zoroaster from the Arabic form
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may be, the latter seems to have been more honored in death than in life. His last resting place is connected with miraculous accounts, and seems to have been held in high esteem by the Jews of Babylon. Rabbi Pethahyah of Ratisbon visited it in the twelfth century, and recounts some of these wonders. Curiously enough, a brightness (or light) is said to have proceeded from his grave. It may be worthy of mention that Baruch’s master, Jeremiah, according to the Book of the Bee (p. 72) also prophesied the truth of the Messiah—but to the Egyptians.

In a MS. fragment containing Syriac prayers for various occasions and charms against all manner of sicknesses, I find the following: “On Edhre and boils, let him say a blessing three times and (repeat): Zardosht the prophet prophesied saying: A time will come when they will see a star in the heavens having the likeness of a mother with a son in her arms. The time came, and they saw the star. Twelve kings set out from Persia to go to Jerusalem. Before the cock could crow they had reached Jerusalem. They saw King Herod, who said to them: Whence come ye, and whither are ye going? They answered: A king has been born in Bethlehem, and we have come to worship him. Then the star fell down in front of them; they went and worshipped the boy who had been born. They opened their treasure chests and brought him offerings: gold, and myrrh, and frankincense. They asked for a set of swaddling clothes; they then went to Persia, made a great fire, and threw the

of the name Armis (Jeremiah), which bears some similarity to the city of Urmiah. The Second Book of the Maccabees (chaps. i. and ii.) relates how Jeremiah, after the destruction of Jerusalem, hid the fire of the Temple, which was afterwards found by Nehemiah. The king of Persia is said to have tried to do the same. Is this not an evident attempt to explain the fire-worship of the Persians? See Jewish Quart. Rev. v. p. 412.

1 See Benisch, Travels of Rabbi Petachia of Ratisbon, London, 1856, pp. 20 and 50.
2 This light, or fire, coming up from the earth, occurs in the later Arabic traditions.
3 The property of the Rev. Mr. Yohannan.

4 What sort of sickness this is, I am unable to say.
6 This number (12) occurs elsewhere. See Duval, Lexicon Syriacum, Auctore Hassano Bar Bahlule, col. 1002, below; which agrees, almost word for word, with a scholion of Jacob of Edessa (seventh century), quoted by Nestle, Materialien und Materialien, Tübingen, 1883, p. 72. The same reference is found in the Commentary of Bar 'Ehhrayas to Math. ii. 1. See the edition of Spahneth, Göttingen, 1879.
swaddling clothes of our Lord upon the fire. Before the swaddling clothes of our Lord the fire went out.\footnote{1} In this manner may the Edhra go out, and leave, and be plucked from the body of N. N., the son of N. N., and all the evil boils, (just) as that fire went out in the presence of the swaddling clothes of our Lord. Amen!”

The last writer among the Syrians of any real importance, Gregorius Bar 'Ebhrayä (about 1250), also mentions these traditions in that part of his “Treasury of Secrets” which comments upon the passage in Matthew:\footnote{2} “Some say that an angel appeared to them like a star, others a maiden carrying a male babe in her arms and a crown upon her head. Still others say that they saw writing which announced his appearance. But others again say that Bal'am, their father (ancestor?), or Zaradosht, their prophet, had in times gone by prophesied (its coming) to them.” Bar 'Ebhrayä has a little different tradition in his Arabic Chronicon:\footnote{3} “In those days (of Cyrus) came Zaradosht, chief of the Magian sect, by birth of Adharbijän, or, as some say, of Äthör (Assyria). It is reported that he was one of Elijah's\footnote{4} disciples, and he informed the Persians of the sign of the birth of Christ, and that they should bring him gifts. And he told them that in after time a virgin should be with child without having known man, and about the time of her bringing forth, a star brilliant by day should appear, in the midst of which would be seen the figure of a young virgin. You then, my children, will be favoured before all other people with the light of the star: and when ye see it, go whither it leads you, worship the child, and offer him gold, incense, and myrrh.”

Turning now to the Arabic writers, we find their interest to be quite a different one to that of the Syrians. There is no Oriental people who have done so much for their own history as have the Arabs; and, with the acquisition of Persia, they extended this interest also to the history of the conquered provinces.

Many of their most learned men were Persians by birth, and had no racial affinity with those who held sway over them. This was reason sufficient to give them an interest in the early history of Persia; though this was not needed, as nearly every historical writer commenced \textit{ab ovo} — with the very beginnings of history. But though written as history, not all that we find in their books can be

\footnote{1}{Luke ii. 12. The same tradition is found in \textit{The Book of the Bee}, p. 86, and in Hone, \textit{Protoevangelion}, Infancy, iii. 4-10, as cited by Budge, \textit{ibid.}}\footnote{2}{Ed. Spanuth, p. 6, lines 25 sq.}\footnote{3}{Ed. Salhani, Beirut, 1890, p. 83. Here he follows his Arabic masters.}\footnote{4}{A mistake for \textit{Jeremiah}?}
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called by such a name. Here the authors took little pains to separate real tradition from fiction, as they were careful to do in treating of purely Arabian and Muhammadan history. We shall therefore find again a number of the legends and identifications mentioned above recurring here, especially in the works which are manifestly compilations. Many of the learned Arabs held converse with Syriac historians, and thus obtained many of their traditions viva voce.

The tradition which places Zoroaster's teaching in Atropatene is almost unanimous among the Muhammadan writers. These traditions are generally centred upon or around the city of Urmia (Oroomiah).

As early a writer as Ahmad ibn Yahyä al Baladhurì (about A.D. 851) in his Kitâb Futûh al-buldân, in speaking of the conquest of Adrabijân has the following note: “Urmia is an ancient city; the Magians think that Zaradusht, their master, came from there.”

Of the historians who treat of the early history of Persia, Abu Ḥanîfa Ahmad al-Dainawari must first be mentioned, who, in his Kitâb al-Ahbär al-tiwâl relating the history of Vishtâsp, says: “Zaradusht, the head of the Magians, came to Bushtâsip the king, saying, I am a messenger of God to thee. He brought him a work which the Magians possess. Bushtâsip believed in him and followed the Magian religion, and compelled his people to follow it nolens volens.” The text then relates the anger of Rustem, the viceroy of Sijistân, at this change of religion, and his consequent battle with Isfandijâd, son of Bushtâsip. In the same manner, but a little more precisely, Zoroaster is mentioned by Hamza ibn al Hasan Alisfahânî in his Annals, p. 22, “Gustaspe rege Zerduscht inclaruit”; p. 26, “Lohraspe vivo potestas travita fuit filio eius Cai Gustaspi; adhuc trigesimo regni anno, cum ipse L annos esset natus, Zerduscht, Adjerbeidjanensis accesit atque religionem expossuit, quam ille non modo ipse amplexus est, sed etiam in eius favorem legatis ad Graecos missis eos ad illam accipiendam invitavit. Hi tamen librum a Feridune sibi datum protulerunt, ubi conventum erat: sibi qualemunque religionem elegeerint, esse perm issam. Itaque ad iis se cohibuit, cum id, quod manibus tenebant, auferre nollet.” Speaking of the different systems of chronology, he says (p. 8), “Persae, qui ex Avesta, libro sacro a Zerduscht iiis apportato computant, e
tempore Caiumrathi, hominum parentis, ad regnum Jezdegerdis quatuor millia CLXXXII annos, decem menses et undeviginti dies colligunt."

One of the best authorities for these descriptions is Abu-1 Hasan al Mas'ûdï (died 957 A.D.). Born in Bagdad, he travelled far and wide, collecting material for his great works on history and geography. What he says about Zoroaster has been largely copied by later writers. I give the following extracts from the Medows of Gold in Barbier de Meynard's French translation.¹

"Youstaf (Gustasp) régna après son père et résida a Balkh. Il était sur le trône depuis trente ans, lorsque Zeradecht était fils de Bourschasp, fils de Federaasdf, fils d’Arikdasf, fils de Hedjdasf, fils de Hakhich, fils de Batir, fils de Arhadas, fils de Herder, fils d’Espimân, fils de Wandest, fils de Haizem, fils de Iredj, fils de Dourchin, fils Durroi Menonecehr: il était originaire de l’Azerbaidjan, et son nom le plus ordinaire est Zeradecht, fils d’Espimân. Il fut le prophète des Madjous et leur apporta le livre que le vulgaire appelle Zemzemeh, mais dont le vrai nom, chez les Madjous est Bestah. Zeradecht capta la raison de ses prosélytes par des miracles; il leur révéla les événements généraux ou particuliers qui se cachent dans la nuit de l’avenir. En d’autres termes, ses prédictions embrassaient à la fois l’ensemble des événements futurs et les faits particuliers, comme la mort ou la maladie de telle personne en tel jour, la naissance de telle autre à telle époque, et d’autres prédictions du même genre. La langue du livre révélé par Zeradecht ne renfermait pas moins de soixante lettres, or aucun alphabet connu ne se compose d’un plus grand nombre de caractères. Les détails dans lesquels des Madjous entrent, à cet égard, son reproduits dans nos annales historiques et dans l’Histoire moyenne. Comme le peuple prononçait difficilement et ne comprenait pas les mots de ce livre, leur prophète, ainsi que nous le dirons plus loin, indépendamment des explications qu’il donna dans son livre, y ajouta un commentaire, qu’il expliqua ensuite par un second commentaire; le texte entier, tracé en lettres d’or forme douze mille volumes.² Il renferme des promesses, des menaces, des prescriptions et, en général, tout ce qui concerne la loi civile et religieuse; ce livre devint le code des rois Perses, jusque à l’époque où Alexandre, après avoir tué Dara, jeta au feu

² This goes back to the letter of Tan-sar to the King of Tabaristan. See Darnstetter, Zendavesta, vol. iii. p. xxx.
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Quant au livre primitif, il est nommé Bestah. Pour en faciliter l’intelligence, Zeradecht composa un commentaire qu’on nomma Zenda; il rédigea plus tard un autre commentaire qui fut nommé Bazend; . . . Youstasf régna cent vingt ans avant d’adopter la religion des Mages, puis il mourut. La prédication de Zeradecht dura trente-cinq ans, et il mourut âgé de soixante et dix-sept ans."

In another work, Indicatio et Admonitio, Mas’ūdī has repeated nearly the whole of the extract above given from The Medows of Gold.

From the second work I add only the following additional note:—

"Zoroastre fils de Poroschasp fils d’Asinman, dans l’Abesta, qui est le livre qui lui a été révélé, annonce que, dans trois cents ans, l’Empire des Perses éprouvera une grande révolution, sans que la religion soit détruite; mais, qu’au bout de mille ans, l’empire et la religion périront en même temps. Or, outre Zoroastre et Alexandre, il y a environ trois cents ans; car Zoroastre a paru du temps de Ghishtasp, fils de Caiolhrasp, comme nous l’avons dit ci-devant."

Coming down a little later, we find an interesting notice in the encyclopædia of all the sciences, composed by Ibn Abu Ya’kūb al Nadîm (tenth century). In the chapter on Persian writing (p. 125; I omit the interesting introduction): "Now when Bistäsp reigned, the art of writing was already widespread, and Zarâdušt, the son of Espitamân, the head of the sect of the Magians, appeared. He brought forth his wonderful book in a multitude of languages. People doubled their zeal in learning script and writing, in which they became expert. Abd allah ibn al Mukaffa says: ‘Persian languages are the following: Pahlawï, Durian, Persian, Huzian, Syriac.’ Pahlawï is derived from Pahliah, a name given.


4 Cf. the traditions in regard to the number of languages Zoroaster learned.

5 Died 762 A.D. This whole passage is cited by Yâkût (thirteenth century). See the ed. of Wüstenfeld, iii. p. 926; Barbier de Meynard, Dictionnaire de la Perse, 1861, p. 428; Nöldeke, Aufsätze zur Persischen Geschichte, Leipzig, 1887. Yâkût: ‘There is a tradition that Pahlawi gets its name from Pahlûj, the son of Fâris.’
to five places,—Iṣfahān, Rai, Hamadān, Māh, Nahāwand, Adhabbījān.1 Durian is the language of the cities of Mada’in. Those who were in the court of the King made use of it; and it takes its name from them. And the speech in which Durian mostly predominates among the people of Ḥorāsān and the East is that of the inhabitants of Bahā. Persian is spoken by the Mobeds, the wise men, and the like. It is the language of the people of Persia.2 Ḥuziān was spoken by kings and nobles in private, in places of sport and pleasure, and with their families. Syriac was spoken by the common people.3 It is written in what is called Syro-Persian. Ibn al-Muḳaffā’ says: Persia has seven kinds of script, etc. One is the holy script, and is called the Din Defteriyah (?). In this script the Vestak (?) was written.” Vestak is another form for Āvesta. On p. 345, speaking of the sect al-Muslimiyā,4 al Nadîm says: “When Abu Muslim died, people expected to see him, thinking he was the prophet empowered by Zarādūsh. They claimed that Zarādūsh was (still) alive and not dead; his followers also believed him to be alive and not dead, and that he would come forth (again) to set up this religion for them. These belong to the secret tenets of the Muslimiyā.”

Abu Ja’far Muḥammad a Tabarî (died A.D. 923) is perhaps the most comprehensive of all the Muḥammadan historians. He has gathered together a good many of the traditions relative to Zoroaster. Though he does not directly mention the connection of Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah, with the Iranian prophet, as do the Syriac authors, Jeremiah himself is said to have gone to Jerusalem during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar,5 and to have fallen asleep before the Temple. After a hundred years he awoke, at which time Luhrasb was reigning. In speaking of his successor, he says:6 “Hishām

1 Yāḵūt adds: “Ṣhirawāi ibn Shah-Radār says: ‘The Pahlavī places are seven, Hamadān, Māsbādān, Kum, Māh of Basra, Saimara, Māh of Kufa, and Kārmīsīn. But Rai, Iṣbahān, Kūmas, Tabaristān, Ḥurasān, Sajistān, Kirmān, Mākrān, Ḫāzīn, Dal-lam, and Tīkān are not Pahlavī places.’”

2 In Yāḵūt this reads: “Ḥuẓiān is the language of the people of Huziāstān. It was spoken by kings and nobles in privies and water-closets, while undressing for the bath or to wash themselves.”

3 Or “by the people of Sawād,” a district between Basra and Kufa. Yāḵūt: “Syriac takes its name from the land of Suristān, i.e. ‘Irāḵ. It is the language of the Nabatgeans.”

4 Haarbrücker, Schahristān’s Religionsparthein und Philosophenschulen, Halle, 1850, i. p. 293; ii. p. 480.


6 Part i., Leyden, 1888, p. 048.
REFERENCES TO ZOROASTER.

relates: During the reign of Bishtāsp, Zarādusht appeared, whom the Magians believe to be their prophet. According to some learned men among the people of the book,1 he was of Palestinian origin, a servant to one of the disciples of Jeremiah the prophet, with whom he was a favourite. But he proved treacherous and false to him. Wherefore God cursed him, and he became leprous. He wandered to Ādharbaijān, and preached there the Magian religion. From there he went to Bishtāsp, who was in Balh. Now when he (Zoroaster) had come before him, and preached his doctrine to him, it caused him to marvel, and he compelled his people to accept it, and put many of his people to death on its account. Then they followed it (the religion). Bishtāsp reigned one hundred and twelve years.”

A little further on (p. 675), Tabarî, however, has another and more extended tradition: “It is said that he (Bishtāsp) built in Persia the city Fasa, and in India and other places temples for the fires, and placed over them the fire-priests; that he selected seven out of the nobles of his people, and made each one of them master of that part which he had appointed for him. Zarādusht, the son of Aspīmān, appeared in the thirtieth year of his reign. He laid claim to the gift of prophecy. Now he wished that the King should receive his faith; but he refused. But afterwards he believed in him and accepted that to which Zarādusht had invited him. He brought the King part of a book, which he claimed to be an inspiration. It was written upon the hides of twelve thousand oxen—the writing cut into the hide and covered with gold. Bishtāsp sent this (writing) to a place in Istahr called Darbisht.2 He placed over it the fire-priests, and forbade them to instruct the people regarding it.3 At that time Bishtāsp had made a sort of peace with the King of the Turks, Ḥārzāsp,4 son of Kai Suāsp, the brother of Frāṣiāt. One of the stipulations of this peace was that Bishtāsp should have standing at the gate of Ḥārzāsp an animal like the animals which stood guard at the gates of the King. Zarādusht counselled Bishtāsp to break faith with the King of the Turks. He acceded, and took back the animal and the man who had been appointed to watch it. When this was reported to Ḥārzāsp, he grew angry. He was an enchanter and puffed up with pride. He made preparations to fight

1 The Jews.
2 Vocalization uncertain.
3 For the following, see Nöldeke, Persische Studien, ii. p. 6; and cf. Wirth, Aus Orientalischen Chroniken, 1894, p. 132.
Bishtasp, and wrote him an insolent, threatening letter. In it he informed him that he (Bishtasp) had made a great innovation, and that he disapproved his having accepted the teaching of Zaradusht. He commanded Bishtasp to send Zaradusht to him, and swore that, in case he refused, he would make war upon him until he should have spilt his blood and the blood of his family. Now when the messenger had brought the letter to Bishtasp, the latter gathered about him his family and the nobles of his people; among whom were Zämäsp, their wise man and their arithmetician, and Zarín,¹ the son of Luhrasp. Then Bishtasp wrote as an answer a threatening letter to the King of the Turks, proclaiming war, and informing him that he would not desist from (fighting) him, even if he (Harzasp) should desist. So they set out one against the other, each one with a countless number of soldiers. With Bishtasp were Zarín (!), his brother; Nastur, the son of Zarín; Isfendiyár and Pashütan, the sons of Bishtasp, and all the family of Luhrasp. With Harzasp were Göhormuz and Andarmán, his brothers, his other relatives, and Bedrafsch, the enchanter. In those battles Zarín was killed, which pained Bishtasp very much. His son, Isfendiyár, showed great courage, and killed Bedrafsch in a duel. Defeat came to the Turks.”

Tabari relates in another place (p. 681): “Bishtasp died, having reigned one hundred and twelve years. Some say, that an Israelite whose name was SMY,² was a prophet and was sent to Bishtasp. He came to him at Balḥ and entered the city; he and Zaradusht, the head of the Magians, and Jámāsb, the wise man, the son of Fahd. SMY used to speak in Hebrew, which Zaradusht understood by inspiration.³ He then wrote in Persian what SMY spoke in Hebrew. Jámāsb was engaged with them in this. For this reason Jámāsb is called the wise man. Some of the Persians say that Jámāsb was the son of Fahd⁴ (?) son of Hu, son of Ḥakan (?) son of Nadhkān (?) son of Faras (?) son of Hawarasrau (?) son of Manushihr the king, and that Zaradusht was the son of . . .

“It is said that Bishtasp and his father Luhrasp were of the Sabæan religion until SMY and Zoroaster brought them (the new faith). They came when thirty years of his reign had gone by. This authority says that Bishtasp reigned for one hundred and fifty years.”⁵

² Vocalization unknown. Some MSS. have Siṃī. But see above Siṃī, in the extract from the oration of Melito.
⁴ Vocalization uncertain, as in most of the following names. The F is sometimes written as a K.
⁵ Cf. Ya'kūbī ed. Houtsma, p. 189.
The greater part of Tabari's history was afterwards incorporated in the work of Ibn Al-Athîr (Kitâb al Kâmîl fi al-ta'arîh), who flourished in the thirteenth century; but, with a more concise arrangement, and a few additions from other sources. In general, the account of Zoroaster follows closely the lines of al Tabari. Zarâdusht is called the son of Sakimân. His relation to Jeremiah is told, and his wandering to Adherbaijân. "It is said," he adds, "that he was a Persian and that he had composed a book with which he went around in the land. No one knew its meaning. He pretended that it was a heavenly tongue in which he was addressed. He called it Ashta. He went from Adharbaijân to Fâris (Persia). But no one understood what was in it, nor did they receive him. Then he went to India, and offered it to the princes there. Then he went to China and to the Turks, but not one of them would receive him. They drove him out from their country. He travelled to Fergânâ, but its prince wished to kill him. From there he fled and came to Bishtäsp, son of Luhrâsb, who commanded that he be imprisoned. He suffered imprisonment for some time. Zarädusht commented his book and called it Zend, i.e. commentary. Then he commented the Zend in a work which he called Bâzend, i.e. commentary of a commentary. It contains different sciences, as asceticism, astronomy, medicine, and besides these, stories of past generations, and writings of prophets.

"In his book there is the following: Hold fast to that which I have brought you, until he of the red camel come to you, i.e. Muhammad. This was at the beginning of the year 1600. For this reason, there arose great hatred between the Magians and the Arabs. It is said in the stories of Sâbûr dhul Aktâf, that this was one of the reasons for the invasion of the Arabs. But God knows best.

"Then Bishtäsp caused Zoroaster—who was in Balh—to be

2 Ed. Tornberg, Leyden, 1867, i. p. 181.
3 Evidently a mistake for Abasta.
4 Such scientific writings of Zoroaster are mentioned by Ibn Abi Useibia, 1250 A.D. (Wüstenfeld, Gesch. der Arab. Ärzte. p. 132), in his history of medicine, ed. August Müller, Königsberg, 1884, vol. i. p. 9. "The Magians say that Zarâdusht, whom they claim as their prophet, brought them books of the four sciences. They believe that these were written on twelve thousand hides of buffalos. One thousand of these referred to medicine." Cf. also Sanguinetti, Journal Asiatique, ser. iii. vol. v. p. 263; Darmstetter, Zendavesta, vol. iii. p. viii. There is a tradition to the same effect in Suidas, ZDMG, xix. p. 36.
5 Kur'ân, Sura ii.
brought to him. When he stood before the king, he explained his religion to him. He wondered at it, followed it, and compelled his people to do the same. He killed a large number of them, until they accepted the (new religion). The Magians believe that he took his rise in Adherbaijân, and that he came down to the king through the roof of the chamber. In his hand was a cube of fire, with which he played without its hurting him. Nor did it burn any one who took it from his hands. He caused the king to follow him and to hold to his religion, and to build temples in his land for the fires. From this they lighted the fire in the fire-temples. They believed that the fires which are in their temples burned from that time until now. But they are mistaken. For the fire of the Magians was extinguished in all the temples when God sent Muhammad, as we shall relate, if God so wills!”

The rest of the story (pp. 192, 194) is practically the account of Tabari. In speaking of the Israelite who with Zoroaster and Jâmäsb translated the inspirations from the Hebrew, the name of the Israelite is entirely omitted.

A few points are added here in Ibn Al-Athîr’s account. The story about the Avesta is evidently derived from Maš’ûdi. It is interesting to note that the supposititious quotation is applied here to Muhammad. In the Syriac accounts, it was applied to Jesus. The coming down of Zoroaster through the roof is new in these traditions; but I believe it has Iranian authority. It occurs again in the Cosmography of Zakariyya al-Kazwînî (about 1263). In speaking of the districts of Shïz in Adharbäijân, he adds: “Zarâdusht, the prophet of the Magians, takes his origin from here. It is said that he came from Shïz. He went to the mountain Sabalân, separated from men. He brought a book the name of which was Basta. It was written in Persian, which could not be understood except with the assistance of a commentator.” He appeared, claiming the gift of prophecy, at the time of Kushtâsp, the son of Luhrâsp, the son of Kaihusrau, king of Persia. He wished to get to Bishtâsp, but he did not succeed. Bishtâsp was sitting in the hall of state, when the roof of the hall parted in two, and Zarâdusht came down from it. Some of those who were with the king fled; others fainted. But the king did not move from his place. He said: Who art thou? Zarâdusht answered: I am sent of God to you. Then, said the king:

Though we have seen this wonder (i.e. the coming down from the ceiling), we are not satisfied. We have wise and learned men like thee. If they will bear witness in thy favour, we will follow thee. Zarādusht agreed to this. So the king commanded the wise and learned men who lived at that time, to listen to what he had to say and then to inform the king. They did so, and then said to the king: We have listened to what he had to say; it is true. Only one thing remains, to prove the wonder of his prophetical power. They continued: We wish to smear his body with some sort of drug and take some molten copper, then bind him and pour this molten copper over him. If he perish, then we have done with his affair. If he remain unhurt by this, we must follow him. Zarādusht agreed to this, and the king accepted this method of proof. Then they took off his clothes, bound him firmly, and poured over him the molten copper. But the copper became solidified and clung to all his hair, and did not hurt him in the least. The Magians still preserve some of these balls, the presence of which they consider to be a blessing. After this (the wise men) said: Nothing remains but to follow his call. Zarādusht commanded that fire-temples should be built in all the kingdom of Bishtāsp. He made the fire a Kibla, not a god. This sect continued to exist until the prophet of God (Muhammad) was sent. They say that even to-day a remnant of it is to be found in the land of Sajistān."

The ordeal here mentioned is not authenticated in other traditions; but Ardarpād, who is said to have revised the Avesta under Shahpur II. (309–379 A.D.) "in order to prove his own orthodoxy, underwent the ordeal of fire. Molten metal was poured on his heart, and he did not suffer from it." Has not the Arabic tradition transferred the story from Ardarpād to Zoroaster?

We saw above, in the Syrian traditions, that Zoroaster's teaching was connected, in some way, with a well of water. Such wells are mentioned by Kazwīnī as existing about Mount Sabalān. On page 189 we read: "It is one of the highest mountains in the world. . . . It is related that the Prophet said: Sabalān is a mountain between

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1 The place towards which prayer is directed. Jackson, *Where was Zoroaster's Native Place*, JAOS, xv. p. 226. See Yākūt, iii. p. 34; Istahri, p. 181. 8; Ibn Ḥaukal, p. 288; Kazwīnī, p. 189. 2.


3 Not Sabilan, as Rawlinson transcribed. Jackson, *Where was Zoroaster's Native Place*, JAOS, xv. p. 226. See Yākūt, iii. p. 34; Istahri, p. 181. 8; Ibn Ḥaukal, p. 288; Kazwīnī, p. 189. 2.

4 Cf. a similar account by one "Baḵouí" (1403), published by De Guignes, *Notices et Extraits*, ii. p. 465.
Armenia and Adharbaijān. On it is one of the springs of the Jinns, and in it is one of the graves of the prophets. He said further: On the top of the mountain is a large spring, the water of which is frozen on account of the severe cold; and around the mountain are hot springs to which sick people come. At the foot of the mountain is a large tree, and under this there is a plant to which no animal will draw near. If it comes near it, the animal flees away; if it eat of it, it dies.” The tree appears also in connection with Zoroaster in the Syriac legends.

More curious still is the appearance of the Christian legend, as we found it in Isho’dad and Solomon of Basra in the account which Yāḵūt (about 1250) gives of Shīz in his Kitāb Mu’jam albuldān. I extract the following:1 “It is said that Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians, comes from this place. Its chief city is Urmia. . . . In it is a fire-temple which is held in great esteem. From it are lit the fires of the Magians from the East unto the West. On the top of its dome is a half-moon of silver. It is a talisman. Many Emirs have tried to remove it, but have not succeeded. One of the wonders of this temple is, that a fire has been kept up in it for seven hundred years, without any ashes having been found; nor has the fire gone out for one hour since then. Hurmnz ibn Husrushīr ibn Bahram built it out of lime and stone. In it are lofty palaces and wonderful buildings. Whenever an enemy seeks to take this city and plants a ballista near to its walls, if he try to stone it, the stones fall into the lake which we have mentioned, and if he remove the ballista away from the wall, not one stone will reach it, but all will fall outside the wall.2

“The story goes, in regard to the building of the city, that Hormuz, king of Persia, was told that a blessed birth had taken place in Jerusalem (!) in a city called Bethlehem, and that the offerings brought to him should be anointing oil,3 myrrh, and frankincense. Then he sent one of his friends with great riches, who took with him much frankincense. He commanded him to go with it to Jerusalem and enquire about this child; and that when he shall have informed himself about the matter, he should present the gifts to the child’s mother, and should tell her of the glory and renown

1 Ed. Wüstenfeld, iii. p. 354.
2 Up to here the passage, almost word for word, is incorporated in the account of Kazwinī, part of which was cited above. Vol. i. p. 219, Yāḵūt has: "Urmiah . . . people believe it to be the city of Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians."
3 Undoubtedly a mistaken reading. It should be "gold" (b for n).
which was to be the portion of her child, and of the good deeds he
would do. He also asked that she should pray for him and for his
people. The man did as he had been commanded. He came to
Maryam — Peace on her! — and gave her that with which he had
been sent, and made known to her the blessing of her child. Now
when he wished to leave her, she gave him a sack of earth, saying:
Tell thy master that a building will arise out of this earth. He
took it and went his way. When he had come to the place where
Shiz now is, — at that time it was a desert, — he took sick and
thought he would die. So he buried the sack there. Thereupon he
died. And the story got to the ears of the king. The Persians
believe that he sent a trustworthy man to go to the place in which
the first man had died, and build a fire-temple. But how shall I
recognize this place? asked the man. Go, he said; it shall not
be hidden from you. Now when he reached this place, he was
in doubt, and wept, not knowing what to do. But when night
closed in upon him, he saw a mighty fire arising from the place
where the grave was. Thus he knew that this was the place for
which he was looking. He went there, drew a line (in the ground)
around the fire, and remained there over night. When morning
came, he ordered a building to be erected where this line had been
drawn. This building is the fire-temple in Shïz.”

But Yakût wisely adds: “This whole story comes from Abu Dulaf Mis’ar ibn
Almuhalhal, the poet. I cannot vouch for the truth of it. For
things are told on his authority which are superficial and untrue.
I have incorporated it here as I found it, but Allah knows best.
However, we have another tradition, that in Shïz there is the fire of
Ádharhash, a temple honoured of the Magians. It was customary
for their kings, when they ascended the throne, to make a pilgrim­
age thither on foot. The people of Maragha and (the whole) of this
neighbourhood call this place Kazna; but Allah knows best.”

The connection of this story with Shïz is evidently due to the
tradition that it was built by Hormuzd, for that is the name of one
of the kings who are believed to have worshipped at the cradle of
Jesus.

A somewhat similar scepticism is shown by Al Masûdi (middle of
tenth century), in relating the incident mentioned in the New Tes­
tament. In his Medows, vol. iv. 79, we read: —

1 See Wüstenfeld, Zeitschr. für Erdkunde, 1842, vol. ii.
2 See Nestle, Marginalien und Materialien, loc. cit.
3 I simply cite the French translation of Barbier de Meynard.
"On cite, par exemple, dans la même province de Fars, une source nommée source de feu, auprès de laquelle était bâti un temple. Lorsque le Messie vint au monde, le roi Korech lui envoya trois messagers, porteurs, le premier, d'un sac d'encens, le second, d'un sac de myrrhe, et le troisième, d'un sac rempli d'or. Ils se mirent en route, guidés par une étoile que le roi leur avait décrite, et arrivèrent en Syrie, auprès du Messie et de Marie, sa mère. Cette anecdote des trois messagers est rapportée par les Chrétiens avec des détails empreints d'exagération ; elle se trouve aussi dans les Évangiles. Aussi on raconte que l'étoile avait apparu à Korech au moment de la naissance du Christ ; qu'elle marchait lorsque les envoyés du roi étaient en route, qu'elle s'arrêtait lorsqu'ils s'arrêtaient, etc. On trouvera de plus amples détails dans nos Annales historiques, où nous avons rapporté les Versions des Gèbres et des Chrétiens sur cette légende. On y verra que Marie ayant donné aux messagers du roi un pain rond, ceux-ci après différentes aventures, le cachèrent sous un rocher ; ce pain disparut au fond de la terre, dans la province du Fars ; puis on creusa un puits en cet endroit, et l'on vit jaillir deux gerbes de feu qui brillaient à la surface du sol ; en un mot, tout ce qui concerne cette légende se trouve dans nos Annales."

Yâkût a aussi un petit article sur Kazna, dans lequel il dit :  

2 Fihrist, p. 149.
4 Adara gusaçpa ? Windischmann, Zoroastrische Studien, p. 11.
5 Ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1885, p. 286.
7 The same author says, p. 285 : "Urmia is an old city. The Magians believe that their master, Zarâdusht, came from there."
nas, which is held in high esteem by the Magians.” In another place (p. 246) he is more explicit: “In this district (i.e. Farahân) there is a city called Furdujân,¹ in which there is an ancient fire-temple. It is one of the fires for which the Magians show an excessively great esteem — like the fire of Adhañ-urrah,² and the fire of Jamma-Shïdh (Jemshïdh), which is the oldest, and the fire of Mä Jushnasp, which is the fire of Kaihusrau. Now the Magians held these three fires in an esteem which can hardly be comprehended. They say that with Zarduñusht was an angel, who certified to Kush-täsp that he (Zoroaster) was a messenger (of God).³ Then he (angel) became fire again (?). As regards the fire of Jemshïdh, which is Adharurrah, it was in Huwârazm. Anushirwân removed it to Alkäriyân. Now when the Arabs came into power, the Magians were afraid that it would go out. So they divided it into two parts: one part they left in Alkäriyân, and one part was taken to Fasa; thinking that if one went out, the other would be left. Now Adhar-jushnasp, the fire of Kaihusran, was in Adharbaijân. But Anushirwân removed it to Shïz. The fire of Zarduñusht is in the province of Nisâbür. It was not removed. . . .” Al Fakîh⁴ goes even so far as to explain the origin of fire-worship: “This Zarduñusht heaped threats upon them when he saw the cold in their land. For this reason, he commanded them to worship the fires.”

The preceding account may be supplemented by Al Masûdî in his Medows of Gold, iv. p. 72. He relates how fire-worship was introduced by Alfridûn in Hurâsân. He built fire-temples at Tûs, Buharâ, Sașastân, Shïz, and Râû: “Les dix pyrées que nous venons de mentionner dataient d’une époque antérieure à l’apparition de Zoroastre, fils d’Espemân, le prophète des Mages. Du vivant de Zoroastre, plusieurs temples furent consacrés au culte du feu; un, entre autres, à Neïqâbour, dans le Khoraçân, d’autres à Niça et el-Beïdâ, dans le Fars. Sur l’invitation de Zoroastre, le roi Youstasf fit rechercher du feu vénéré par Djemchid; après de longues investigations, il le découvrit dans la capitale du Khârezm, et le fit transporter à Darabdjerd, chef-lieu d’un district de la Perse. Le temple qu’il y bâtît est nommé aujourd’hui, en 332 de l’hégire, Azerdzoui⁵

ce qui signifie ‘le feu fleuve’; azer étant un des noms du feu; dzout un des noms signifiant fleuve, dans la langue primitive de la Perse. Les Mages ont plus de respect pour ce temple que pour tous les autres édifices religieux. Cependant une tradition persane rapporte que ce fut Key-Khosrau qui, s’étant rendu dans le Khârezm, pendant son expédition contre les Turcs, prit des informations sur le feu sacré, le retrouva et lui rendit hommage. D’autres disent qu’Anouch-chirwan le fit transporter à Karian (petite ville de la Perse). À l’époque de la conquête Musulmane, les Mages, craignant que le feu vénéré dans ce temple ne fut éteint par les Musulmans, n’en laissèrent qu’une partie à Karian, et transportèrent le reste à Nica et el-Beïde district du Fars, afin de conserver l’un des deux autels si l’autre était détruit.”

Still another account is found in the History of the Religious Sects and Philosophical Schools by Abu-1 Fath Muhammad Al-Shahrastâni (born 1086 A.D.).


1 There is another Arabic tradition, which connects the beginnings of Zoroastrianism with Media Proper, i.e. Rai. Yâkût has preserved it (i. p. 244): “Notûnâwând... the name of a celebrated fortress in Dunbâwand, in the province of Rai. It is also called Jarbud. It is one of the oldest fortresses and well-guarded strongholds. It is said to have been inhabited for more than three thousand years. During the time of the Persians it was a stronghold of the Maśmâghân, the king of this district, who placed absolute reliance in it. Maśmâghân means Maś + Maghân; Maś means ‘the great one’; Maghân means ‘the Magians.’ The whole signifies ‘The great one of the Magians.’ Hâlid ibn Barmak besieged it, when he overcame its king and destroyed his power.” See Barbier de Meynard, Dictionnaire de la Perse, Paris, 1801, p. 33; Sacred Books of the East, iv. p. xlvii.

2 Ed. Haarbrücker, p. 298.

The best attempt at a philosophical presentation of the Zoroastrian system was made by the same Sharastānī, whose account I append in Haarbrücker’s translation (i. pp. 275 sq.).

Die Madschūs (Magier).

„Sie nehmen zwei Principien an, wie wir bereits angegeben haben, nur dass die ursprünglichen Madschūs der Ansicht waren, es sei nicht möglich, dass beide Principien ewig, ohne Anfang seien, sondern das Licht ohne Anfang, die Finsterniss aber entstanden sei; dann waren sie verschiedener Meinung über die Ursache ihrer Entstehung, ob sie von dem Lichte entstanden sei, da doch das Licht nichts theilweise Schlechtes hervorbringe; wie also das Princip des Bösen oder etwas Anderes entstehe, da es doch Nichts gäbe, was mit dem Lichte an dem Hervorbringen und dem Ewigsein Theil

1 In his chapter on China (vol iii. p. 457), Yākūt mentions in a place called Baghānīn(?) “a temple of gold in a desert four parasangs long. Snow never falls upon it, though there be snow all around it. In this temple there is a place for observing the stars. The Indians and Magians honour it greatly. This desert is called ‘the desert of Zoroaster, the head of the Magiana.’ The people of these lands say that whenever a man goes from this desert seeking sovereignty, no force can overcome him, wherever he may turn.” This notice must stand in some connection with the reputed journeys of Zoroaster to India and China.


"Als er dann geboren worden sei, habe er ein Gelächter ausgestossen, was alle Anwesenden vernahmen; und man habe hinterlistig gegen Zaräudsch gehandelt, so dass man ihn zwischen den Weg der Rinder und den Weg der Pferde und den Weg der Wölfe legte, aber jedes einzelne Stück von ihnen sei aufgestanden, um ihn vor seinem geschlecht zu schützen. Nachdem er dann das Alter von dreissig Jahren erreicht habe, habe ihn Gott als Propheten und Gesandten an die Schöpfung gesendet und er habe sich mit der Berufung an den König Kuschtäsf gewendet und der habe seinen Glauben angenommen; sein Glauben habe in der Verehrung Gottes und der Nichtvererung des Satan, in dem Gebote des Guten und dem Verbote des Bösen, und der Enthaltung von unreinan Dingen bestanden. Er sagte, das Licht und die Finsterniss seien zwei Grundstoffe, die sich feindlich gegenüberständen und ebenso Jazdän und Ahriman, und beide seien der Anfang der geschaffenen Dinge der Welt, die Zusammensetzungen seien aus der Vermischung beider hervorgegangen, und die Gestalten seien aus den verschiedenen Zusammensetzungen entstanden, Gott aber sei der Schöpfer des Lichtes und der Finsterniss und Beider Urheber; er sei Einer, ohne Genossen, ohne Gegner und ohne einen, der ihm gleiche, und es könne auf ihn die Existenz der Finsterniss nicht in der Weise zurückgeführt werden, wie es die Zarwänrja behaupten, sondern Gutes and Böses, Heil und Verderben, Reinheit und Unreinheit seien nur aus der Vermischung des Lichtes und der Finsterniss hervorgegangen, und wenn die beiden sich nicht vermisch hätten, würde es keine Existenz für die Welt geben; beide ständen sich gegenüber und kämpften miteinander, bis das Licht die Finsterniss überwunden habe und das Gute das Böse, dan werde das Gute frei in seine Welt kommen und das Böse in seine Welt hinabgestossen werden und das sei die Ursache der Befreiung; Gott der Allmächtige aber habe sie nach der Weisheit, welche er in der Zusammensetzung erblickt, gemischt und vermengt. Bis weilen setzte er auch das Licht als Grundstoff und sprach sich so aus: seine Existenz ist eine wirkliche, die Finsterniss aber folge wie der Schatten in Beziehung auf die Person; er urtheilte nemlich, dass derselbe ein Geschaffenes sei, aber nicht ein in Wirklichkeit Geschaffenes, er (Gott) habe also das Licht hervorgebracht und die Finsterniss entstehe als Folge, denn zur Naturnothwendigkeit der Existenz gehöre der Gegensatz, ihre (der Finsterniss) Existenz sei also nothwendig, indem sie in die Schöp-

1 Professor Jackson informs me that this episode is alluded to also in the Zartusht Nāmah (thirteenth century).
fung falle, wenn auch nicht durch die erste Absicht wie wir es bei der Person und dem Schatten angegeben haben. Er hat auch ein Buch abgefasst, von dem man sagt, dass es ihm offenbart sei d. i. der Zandawastā, welcher die Welt in zwei Theile theilt Minah (Paradies) und Kitt (Welt)¹ d. i. den geistigen und den körperlichen, den Geist und den Körper. Und wie die Schöpfung in zwei Welten getheilt ist, so, sagt er, werde auch das, was in der Welt ist, in zwei Theile getheilt, Bachschisch (Gnade) und Kunisch (Thätigkei)t) worunter er die Anordnung (Gottes) und das Thun (des Menschen) versteht, und ein Jeder sei in Beziehung auf das Zweiter voherbestimmt. Dann besprach er die Wege der gesetzlichen Pflichten, und das sind die Bewegungen des Menschen, und theilte sie in drei Theile Manisch, Güjisch und Kunisch, worunter er den Glauben, die Rede und das Thun versteht, und mit diesen drei sei die Verpflichtung beschlossen. Wenn der Mensch nun darin zu wenig thut, so fällt er aus dem Glauben und Gehorsam, hält er sich aber in diesen Bewegungen nach Massgabe des Gebotes und Gesetzes, so erlangt er das Grösste Glück. Die Zarāduschtija schreiben dem Zarāduscht viele Wunderthaten zu; dazu gehört, dass die Vorderfüsse des Rosses des Guschtāsf in seinen Leib hineingezogen wurden, während Zarāduscht im Gefängnisse war; als er ihn frei liess, wurden die Füsse des Pferdes auch frei; ferner dass er in Dainawar bei einem Blinden vorbeigegangen sei und gesagt habe, nehmet ein Kraut, welches er ihnen beschrieb, und drücket den Saft desselben in sein Auge, so wird er sehen können; sie thaten es und der Blinde wurde sehend.² Dieses fällt aber unter seine Bekanntschaft mit der Eigenthümlichkeit des Krautes, und gehört in keiner Weise zu den Wunderthaten.

¹ Allusion to the frequent antithesis mainyava gaëthya, 'heavenly and earthly,' in the Avesta (Jackson). ² The 'black horse' episode appears also in the Zartusht Nāmah (Jackson).
er unternimmt werde ihm glücken, und er werde den rechten Glauben schützen und in seiner Zeit werde Sicherheit und Ruhe eintreten und Ruhen der Zwietracht und Aufhören des Unglückes. Gott weiss es am besten!"

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